

Message Text

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ORIGIN SP-02

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 INR-07 L-03
ACDA-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 USIA-06
TRSE-00 NSC-05 DODE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00
/065 R

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TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 176316

E.O. 11652:

TAGS:NATO, PFOR, NAC

SUBJECT: APAG: CHAIRMAN'S REPORT

REF: (A) US NATO 7038 (B) STATE 156086

AMBASSADOR IS REQUESTED TO DRAW UPON FOLLOWING POINTS IN
JULY 28 NAC DISCUSSION OF CHAIRMAN'S APAG REPORT:

1. WE APPRECIATE CONSIDERABLE EFFORT WHICH WENT
INTO APAG REPORT CIRCULATED BY CHAIRMAN JUNG. WE CAN
ACCEPT REPORT AS REFLECTING GENERAL DISCUSSION AT ISTANBUL.

2. THERE ARE THREE POSSIBLE AREAS WHERE REPORT
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MIGHT BE FURTHER IMPROVED:

(A) THERE IS A TENDENCY TO PRESENT WORST-CASE
ANALYSIS OF FUTURE SOVIET INTENTIONS AND OBJECTIVES IN
THE CONTINUING EAST-WEST COMPETITION, WITH LESS ATTENTION
GIVEN TO LIMITS OF SOVIET CAPABILITIES;

(B) THE REPORT TENDS TO DOWNPLAY IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONSHIP; AND

(C) THE SOVIET ROLE IN THE THIRD WORLD SEEMS TO US TO BE OVERLY DRAMATIZED, AND THE REPORT DOES NOT BRING OUT ADEQUATELY THE VERY REAL ADVANTAGES ENJOYED BY THE WEST VIS-A-VIS MOSCOW IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

3. WE HAVE SUBMITTED A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC DRAFTING SUGGESTIONS TO THE I.S., WHICH ARE DESIGNED TO DEAL WITH THESE PROBLEMS AND TO REFLECT OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE DISCUSSIONS IN ISTANBUL.

4. AS YOU KNOW, OUR GENERAL VIEW OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS WAS ELABORATED JULY 21 BY PRESIDENT CARTER IN HIS ADDRESS AT CHARLESTON. IN THAT SPEECH, THE PRESIDENT NOTED THE CONTINUING COMPETITION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AND EXPRESSED HIS DETERMINATION TO SEARCH FOR AREAS OF AGREEMENT WHERE OUR REAL INTERESTS AND THOSE OF THE SOVIETS COINCIDE. THE PRESIDENT ALSO WARNED THAT WE WOULD BE MISLED IF WE BASED OUR LONG-RANGE POLICIES ON THE MOOD OF THE MOMENT, WHETHER THAT MOOD WAS EUPHORIC OR GRIM. HE POINTED OUT THAT, ON BALANCE, THE TREND IN THE LAST THIRD OF A CENTURY HAS BEEN POSITIVE.

5. WHILE THE SOVIETS WILL PURSUE THEIR INTEREST
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ASSIDUOUSLY, WE ARE CONVINCED THAT MOSCOW CONTINUES TO HAVE STRONG INCENTIVES TO SEEK IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. THESE INCENTIVES INCLUDE:

- -- DESIRE TO REDUCE THE DANGER OF WAR AND REGULATE THE MILITARY COMPETITION;
- -- DERIVE ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL BENEFITS FROM THE WEST, ESPECIALLY GIVEN THE DECLINE OF SOVIET ECONOMIC GROWTH AND THE INCREASED PRESSURES OF SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN AUSTERITY POLICIES;
- -- MAINTAIN A PEACEFUL WESTERN FRONT AT A TIME OF CONTINUED TENSION WITH CHINA AND LOOMING INSTABILITY IN EASTERN EUROPE; AND
- -- ENHANCE POLITICAL INFLUENCE IN EUROPE.

6. WHAT WE NEED TO DO IN THE PERIOD AHEAD IS:

- -- FIRST, TO MAKE SURE THAT WE DO NOT PERMIT BACKWARD MOVEMENT--EITHER THROUGH PIECEMEAL EROSION OR A

DOWNWARD ACTION/REACTION SPIRAL--REVERTING IN TIME TO CONFRONTATION; AND

" - -- SECONDLY, TO BUILD ON PRIOR PROGRESS TO MOVE AHEAD ON THE CURRENT AGENDA OF EAST-WEST ISSUES.

7. IN PARTICULAR, WE WISH:

-- TO GO BEYOND ARMS LIMITATION TO ACTUAL REDUCTIONS OF MILITARY FORCES AND ARMAMENTS. AS THE CHAIRMAN'S REPORT INDICATES, SALT AND CTB TAKE TOP PRIORITY, AND WE WOULD ALSO LIKE TO SEE SOME MOVEMENT IN MBFR. PRESIDENT CARTER EMPHASIZED THESE POINTS AND THE CENTRAL ROLE OF THE ALLIANCE IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS AT CONFIDENTIAL

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THE LONDON SUMMIT;

-- TO GO BEYOND THE PRESENT DIVISION OF EUROPE AND TO ENCOURAGE MORE NORMAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE WEST AND THE PEOPLES AND GOVERNMENTS OF EASTERN EUROPE. PROGRESS IN THIS DIRECTION SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY GRADUAL BUT CONCRETE IMPROVEMENTS IN PREVAILING HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES; BOTH IN CSCE AND MORE GENERALLY, THE US SEEKS NOT CONFRONTATION BUT PROGRESS;

-- TO GO BEYOND UNINHIBITED COMPETITION IN THE THIRD WORLD BY BUILDING A GENERAL PATTERN OF SOVIET RESTRAINT AND BY DEVELOPING MORE STABLE AND EQUITABLE NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS.

8. FINALLY, WE NEED TO THINK MORE ABOUT THE NEXUS BETWEEN EAST-WEST AND NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS. WE FULLY AGREE WITH THE IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO AVOIDING MILITARY CONFRONTATION AND PROTECTING VITAL WESTERN INTERESTS IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. NOR DO WE CHERISH ANY ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE OPPORTUNISTIC AND INCREMENTALIST SOVIET STRATEGY TOWARD THE THIRD WORLD. AT THE SAME TIME, WE BELIEVE THE WEST GENERALLY HOLDS THE HIGH CARDS VIS-A-VIS MOSCOW IN THE THIRD WORLD, BECAUSE WE HAVE THE GREATER CAPACITY--AND HAVE DEMONSTRATED OUR WILLINGNESS--TO BE RELEVANT TO THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL ASPIRATIONS OF THE DEVELOPING NATIONS.

9. IN THE LONGER TERM, WE SHOULD SEEK TO DRAW THE SOVIETS GRADUALLY INTO A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN THIS PROCESS. THIS WILL TAKE TIME AND THE EAST-WEST PROCESS WILL HAVE ITS UPS AND DOWNS. BUT AS THE PRESIDENT INDICATED AT CHARLESTON, PEACEFUL COOPERATION IS FAR MORE CONDUCIVE TO CONFIDENTIAL

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THE ATTAINMENT OF OUR OBJECTIVES THAN AN ATMOSPHERE OF
BELLIGERENCE OR CONFRONTATION. VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, INSTRUCTIONS, REPORTS, COMMITTEES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 27-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE176316
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: PSKAPLAN
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770269-0776
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770712/aaaaakel.tel
Line Count: 177
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 19fff662-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SP
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 STATE 156086
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1730207
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: APAG: CHAIRMAN'S REPORT
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, NATO, NAC
To: NATO BRUSSELS
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/19fff662-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009